

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 16, 1806.

[PRICE 10D.]

" At midnight, on the 5th of November, the anniversary of that day which lives in the remembrance of every Englishman, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia swore, on the tomb of the Great Frederick, in the Church at Potsdam, that they would remain faithful to each other, and to the cause in which they were engaged. Young and noble-minded and high-spirited monarchs! May the spirit and wisdom of that monarch, over whose tomb your vows were interchanged, animate your holy councils, and invigorate your arms in so just a cause!"—MORNING POST, 18th November, 1805.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE.—In the preceding Number, page 200, some observations were made upon the tone, which certain of the public prints are now taking relative to the *terms*, which the nation ought to expect, in case peace should be the result of the present negotiation. It will be proper, by-and-by, to add to these observations, and further to expose the ignorance, or the wickedness, which would persuade the people, that it is likely that good terms of peace, under the present circumstances, may be obtained; but, previously, it is necessary to notice, what, as it is now said, is the nature of the terms obtained by the Emperor of Russia; by that "young and noble-minded and high-spirited monarch," who, as the Morning Post told us, did, no longer ago than on the last Gun-powder Treason day, swear, positively swear, and in a church too, everlasting fidelity to the cause of the third coalition, formed for the express purpose of circumscribing the power of France. This "noble-minded and high-spirited monarch," for seeming to laugh at whose reported vow a writer in the Morning Herald was threatened with an information in the court of King's Bench; this "noble-minded and high-spirited monarch," who, as we were told by the wisacres of the Pitt ministry, rode through the most tremendous fire, during the battle of Austerlitz, calling out to his army "Victory or Death!" and who was answered by his troops, that they would die a thousand deaths rather than see the arms of their dearly beloved sovereign dishonoured; this "noble-minded and high-spirited monarch," who, as we were told in the Pitt bulletins, recovered, at the battle of Austerlitz, all the cannon he had lost, and drove back the French army beyond Austerlitz, and, afterwards, across the Swartz; this noble-minded, this high-spirited, this heroic, this wonder-working Emperor, has made his peace with France; has sent his negociator to Paris; has, we

may venture to conclude, *laid aside the style adopted by M. Novosiltzoff*; and, in short, has done every thing, which the wise men, who supported the Pitt coalition, expected him not to do. When this is the case, must not these men have assurance, equal at least to their wisdom, to enable them to hold forth to their readers, that *this* is the time, that this, of all others, is the time to demand, and to expect to obtain, high terms of peace, at the hands of France?—But, with respect to the Emperor of Russia and his peace, it is said, that, not only has he not obtained for us any thing advantageous, but that he has given our interests entirely up, and has even agreed to *aid France in compelling us to make a formal surrender of our maritime rights*. Such an agreement was, we know, entered into, in a secret convention between Russia and France, in 1801, (see Political Register, Vol. VI. page 932); and, it was with the knowledge of this, that Pitt and his place-loving crew entered into the third coalition. I endeavoured, at the time, in various ways, to impress the fact upon the minds of my readers. In volume VI. of the Register, several articles will be found, the object of which was, to convince the public, that nothing good was to be expected from a war in alliance with Russia against France, unless it proceeded upon principles very different from those which were the basis of the third coalition.—If it should have been agreed upon, between Russia and France, to compel us to give up our rights with regard to neutral ships; or, if Russia should have merely stipulated to use her *good offices*, in order to prevail upon us to make such surrender, it will form a most delightful puzzle-wit for that acute and profound statesman, MY LORD GRENVILLE! It will certainly draw his attention aside, for a while, from his deep researches into the hidden causes of national wealth and prosperity! He must leave the measures, relative to *cash-payments at the Bank* to be perfected by that no less acute and profound personage, SIR JOHN NEWPORT. Gods!

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what a confusion of noddle would be produced by an agreement between Russia and France, such as we have been speaking of! —For my part, I was always afraid of Russia. From the very beginning of her coalescing, I expressed my fears, that France would easily draw her off from us, and, especially after having given her a little *beating*. —The Pitt crew of placemen and place-hunters would fain have us believe, that, if the Emperor of Russia has acted, as it is said he has, with respect to peace with France, the *fault* is in the present ministers, who had given him reason to doubt of their intentions with regard to a vigorous prosecution of the war. But, was *he* engaged in a vigorous prosecution of the war? Did they find him so engaged? What was he *doing*? Just nothing at all; and, indeed, nothing could he do *for* us; but, there was no good reason for his doing any thing *against* us, merely, as it is pretended, on account of our having begun to negotiate for peace first, supposing that to have been the fact. It is the object of the Pitt crew, to cause it, upon all occasions, to be believed, that, if their master had lived, and they had continued in power, the evil, upon each occasion successively complained of, would not have existed. What insupportable impudence! When every evil, under which the country groans, can be, and has been, *proved*, clearly proved, to have originated in the shallow brain and the selfish heart of their loquacious leader. To gratify his selfish ambition, his love of place, his passion for domineering, his hatred of every one who was not ready to flatter and to crawl to him; to this end it was, that all the measures, which have finally led to our present situation, were adopted. He cared nothing about the *country*; nothing more than about the Wilds of America; self, his own self; his own power of ruling, by means fair or foul, was all he thought about. We were sacrificed to his ambition, and now we are to be insulted by being told, that, if he had lived, that is to say, if we had continued to be sacrificed to him, we should have been much better off than we are. What folly, Good God! What foolery is there, that he was not guilty of, and that we did not smart for? When the mists of deceit and of corruption shall have been dissipated; when the nation shall no longer be the annuitants of the state; when men shall, once more, recover the faculty of thinking rightly, and the right of expressing their thoughts freely, how they will vent their indignation upon our heads, for suffering ourselves to be trampled upon by a man

of mind so puerile and contemptible! His followers appear to have acquired the rights of their master. They now hold, as nearly as they are able, the same sort of language that he held. The grand operator is gone, to be sure, but the same impudent pretensions are uttered by the underlings. First they form a coalition, which they tell the poor nation, is to save it for ever, and to hurl Napoleon from his imperial throne; and they tell them, besides, that the Emperor of Russia is to be the main spring of this coalition. The coalition is broken up; Napoleon remains upon his throne; and the Emperor of Russia sends an humble embassy to ask for peace at his hands. Now, one would, under such circumstances, expect *silence* from the authors of the coalition; and, when they saw their successors endeavouring to obtain a peace as well as they could, one would expect them to act as if they thought themselves fortunate at having escaped from punishment of some sort or other; but, instead of this, we hear nothing but their insolent attempts at justification; nay they do not stop there, but have the abominable audacity to affect to *blame their successors*, that things are in a bad state upon the continent, and that we are likely to have hard terms of peace. Rightly, however, are the new ministry served. They were well told of this before hand. They were duly forewarned, that, unless they caused a faithful report of the state of the nation to be made, they would, and they ought to be, answerable for all the evils that should be felt during their administration. The Fox part of the ministry had not the courage to attempt this. The Grenvilles and the Addingtons were implicated in all that Pitt and his crew had done; and, though Mr. Fox clearly saw what must be the consequence of omitting to cause a report, such as we have just spoken of, to be made, he had not the resolution to say, "upon that condition only will I enter the cabinet." If he had, he would, at this day, have been minister *indeed*; and, as he would have avoided all the painful occurrences of the last session, it is probable, that he would have escaped that bodily illness, which is now a subject of so much regret. He fell beneath the Grenvilles. Not for want of forewarning, to be sure; for, it was, from the time of the discussions relative to Lord Melville, impossible not to perceive, that, if Pitt had wished for seven years to provide the means of deadening the Fox party; of benumbing all their limbs; of paring their nails; of drawing their teeth; of taking from them every means of giving



him serious annoyance; if, for seven years he had set himself down to wish for the means of doing this, he could not have wished for any thing more complete than the *coupling* of Lord Grenville with Mr. Fox. If Pitt had lived he would have been turned out of place; that is to say, unless he had taken Lord Grenville and some others in; but, if Mr. Fox had been *coupled* with Lord Grenville, the turning out of Pitt would have been of little use. It would have led to no useful consequences. Pitt would still have hoisted his brazen front in the House of Commons; and Mr. Fox, held in check by the Grenvilles, would soon have sunk beneath him. The strength of the new ministry ought to have grown out of an exposure of the ignorance and the wickedness of their predecessors; and, there can be no doubt, that, if the Grenvilles had occupied the place in the new arrangements, which they ought to have occupied, such an exposure would have taken place; but, the moment it was known, that Lord Grenville was to be *the minister*, that moment every one was assured, that no exposure at all would be made. All at once we saw the discussion, relative to the war, abandoned, though the papers had been moved for and the day appointed. The million, out of the Spanish prize money, was quietly hushed up. Not a word was said upon many other subjects, which were proposed to be discussed. In short, who was there, having the common means of observation, who was not convinced, that the Fox party, had, from mere fear of being kept, for a month or two, out of place, yielded to Lord Grenville, and made up their minds to a settled submission?—But, *now*, this is of little consequence. We now know, that Pitts and Grenvilles and Foxes are all alike. We have now the proof of it before our eyes. We have the proof, that, from the moment they are in place, they act, successively, just as their predecessors acted. When in place, they *all*, with equal zeal, defend and abet such practices as it is useless here to name. I know not which of them goes farthest. I know not which has least shame; and, all the difference, that I am now able to discover between the Pitts and the Foxes is, that while the latter, when out of place, severely condemn peculation, the former, whether in or out of place, always defend it; and, really, I think this the least dishonourable course of the two.—In returning from this digression, I shall now offer to the reader a few remarks upon some arguments, in addition to those quoted in my last number (page 201), from the MORN-

ING POST, tending, as the writer presumes, to show, that we are in a position to warrant a demand of high terms of peace. The passage which I am now about to lay before the reader follows, in the Morning Post of the 5th instant, immediately after the passage quoted in my last number, (page 201). "Here, it may be said, that, in the progress of the war, greater loans would be necessary in each successive year. Granted. But the loan of the present year cannot be taken above 15 millions, five millions of the twenty borrowed having been appropriated to *make good the grants of the last year*; and if we suppose the amount of the yearly loan to be progressive between fifteen and twenty-five millions, the average, being twenty millions, would give the result we calculate upon. Whilst carrying on the war singly with France, we cannot be so sensible of the burthens necessary for the support of it. The greater part of the expenditure *will take place in the country*, and though the money may be procured by *heavy impositions*, it will *return to the people*, and by its circulation amongst them *alleviate the burthens they sustain*. The same will be, in a great measure, the case with any expeditions that may be sent out, till they reach the place of their destination. The whole of the outfit will be supplied by the country, and even the freightage and expense of transport will be *a benefit to the people*. When our expeditions accomplish their object, we see no good reason why we should not practise the same means for the support and recruiting of our forces as our enemies do. The adoption of such a system would relieve our finances, and greatly promote our military resources. On the whole, therefore, *we see every reason to be confident of the adequacy of our finances to the continuance of the present war*, and no one motive, on that ground, to shrink from the contest, without security, or to *relinquish our present advantages, without just and satisfactory equivalents*."—Now, to proceed in regular order, we may ask, relative to the statement, that, of the this year's loan, 5 millions were wanted to make up the deficiencies of last year, where will this wiseacre writer find us a security, that we shall not want 5 millions *next* year to make up for the deficiencies of *this*? The fact is, that the accounts of the nation exhibit, like those of a tradesman fast approaching to his last stage, a continued series of deficiencies and of anticipations; and, if we have been

obliged to borrow 5 millions this year to make up the deficiencies of the last year, the probability is, that we shall be obliged to borrow 6 or 7 millions next year to make up the deficiencies of this.—But, though it is evident, that the writer had not duly reflected upon this part of his subject, I must confess, that the arguments that follow are of a cast so superior; they contain such strong evidence of profundity, that I should almost be tempted to ascribe them to LORD GRENVILLE, or SIR JOHN NEWPORT himself. The taxes being expended in the country is, we are told, a circumstance, that will render the burdens of the war less severely felt. *Why* this should be so, does not, I must confess, appear to me; and, I think, that this wiseacre would find it difficult to furnish us with a demonstration of it. If a thousand pounds be raised from a certain parish in taxes, what is it to that parish whether the bread and meat and drink, purchased with that thousand pounds, be swallowed by soldiers in England, or by those same soldiers conveyed to the continent of Europe? If the thousand pounds go towards a subsidy, that, indeed, is a different case; for, then it will be found, that it is so much taken from the land and the labour of England and given to foreigners to eat and to wear. “But,” some one will say, “is not the laying out of the money of the army a good to the country; does it not, by returning to the people and circulating amongst them, enable them the better to meet their heavy taxes?” Well, then, if the laying out of the money of the army does produce a “benefit to the whole nation,” so must the laying out of other people’s money; and, as the expenditure of every man will bear, upon a general scale, an exact proportion to what he receives, it is, if we adopt this principle, very difficult to see how taxes can, in any case, possibly, become *burthensome* to a nation, except only in the case of their being devoted to the payment of foreign subsidies.—This doctrine of the Morning Post is extremely well adapted to the regions of Whitehall and St. James’s. “Why do you complain?” will the Marquis of Buckingham say: “it is true I receive, from my sinecure place, about 28,000 pounds a year; but, what harm does that produce to the people? It adds, indeed, so much to their taxes; but, it is spent every year, and so it returns to them again.” So will Lord Grenville and Lord Melville; so will all the sinecure place-men; so will all the jobbers and contractors say. It is *all spent again* amongst the people, and, therefore, it is as broad as

it is long.—Why, then, it is a mistake, all this while, to suppose, that the national debt is an *injury* to the people; for, though it be true, that this debt causes 29 millions a year to be raised from the people in taxes, yet, those who receive the 29 millions spend it again. The same may be said of the Civil-List, and of all the grants at which we have lately been so indignant. Nay, speculation does, at last, no harm, and, it is from sheer ignorance, if speculators consider themselves as less moral than their neighbours. Away we sweep all notions of the weight of taxes. The talk about *economy* becomes nonsense. We have been in a dream, and are now, for the first time in our lives, really awake.—But, in addressing myself to this writer, I would, for reasons too evident to state, endeavour to render my refutation of his position so simple as to be perfectly intelligible to the lowest capacity. You tell me, would I say, that the taxes, being expended in the country, returning again amongst the people, diminishes the weight of the burthen; for that, nothing being, by means of the *t x s, taken out of the country*, the country must, upon the whole, remain exactly the same as if no taxes at all had ever been imposed. This is the natural and even the necessary drift of your argument; and this it is that I deny.—Suppose, for simplicity’s sake, there be an island consisting of ten farms of equal size; suppose the island to be inhabited by ten men, each of them the owner and cultivator of one of the farms, and each having an equal number of children. Suppose one of the men, from whatever cause, to obtain an ascendancy over the rest. Suppose him to have blood-hounds, or wolves, to let loose upon his neighbours at pleasure. Suppose him, no matter how, to be possessed of the power of taking from his nine neighbours, just as much of the produce of their labour as he pleases to take. Suppose him to take from each 50 pounds a year, would not each of the nine be *poorer* by 50 pounds a year? Would not each of them *lose* that 50 pounds a year, in consequence of having such a powerful neighbour; or, would they not, at any rate, be compelled to work much harder in consequence of the tax? But, the powerful man would lay the 50l. a year out with each of them: so he would, but if, for instance, he laid out 50l. in wheat with one of them, would he not receive the wheat in return for the money? Nothing would, indeed, *go out of the island*; but, would the people in it be as happy as they were before? Would not the powerful man cease to labour? Would he not throw his share of the labour upon the other nine?

Would he not eat and drink of the best, while they ate and drank of the worst? Would not some of the nine, from misfortunes of various sorts, be reduced to poverty? Would there not soon be *begging* in the island, or a *work-house*? Would there not be *houses of correction*, and jails? And, is it not clear, that, *without any thing being carried out of the island*, heavy taxation must produce individual poverty and misery? and, must not these produce discontent against the ruling power, or indifference with respect to the safety of the island? and, must not these, upon any emergency, be, inevitably, the cause of weakness in defending the island?—The truth is, that, excessive taxation, bends down industry, with one hand, while, with the other, it creates insolent idleness. It forms society into two classes, the *workers* and the *devourers*; and, the maxim soon becomes: *the more you work the less you eat*. Taxes, call them by what name you will; do with them what you will; are, after all, neither more nor less than so much money taken from the fruit of labour. The idea, therefore, of the burthen being lightened by the circumstance of the receiver's spending the money in the country, that is to say, making people perform more labour in order to get their own money back again, is perfectly absurd.—No: it is not now and then half a dozen verbose columns in the *Morning Post*, that will bring people to the belief, that taxes are of no weight, because the produce of them is expended in the country. They feel that they are of weight; and, say the *Morning Post* what it will, they feel little consolation, that the money drawn from them, has, in many instances, been expended by the persons, to whom it is granted, *even previous to the grant*.—In applying what has here been said to the question of terms of peace, the reader will, I should think, see little reason to expect high terms of peace from the circumstance of the taxes being expended at home. But, upon this, as upon the former occasions, when I have spoken of the present negotiation, I wish always to be understood, not as recommending low terms of peace, but as desirous to caution my readers against expecting high terms, or even good terms, or even terms not deeply disgraceful, if peace be made at the present time; observing, however, that I say, that, if the ministers would have recourse to the proper means of alleviating the burdens of the people, *they need not make peace at this time*. I abhor the idea of a peace such as I think they will make; but, I am persuaded, that it is impossible for

them to carry on the war, without a *great change in the financial system*. Our choice lies between *such a change* and a *peace shockingly disgraceful*. I shall blame the ministers for such a peace; I shall remind Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham of all their attacks upon the peace of Amiens; but, those, who are clamouring against the tax upon the funds, will have no right to blame them at all. The pensions and sinecures not granted for *real services* or losses on behalf of the public, first abolished; these first abolished, and a rigid system of economy introduced into every department of the public expenditure, and that being found insufficient, a further and a further tax ought, in my opinion, to be imposed upon the funds, until the debt be reduced to nothing. I call it *tax*, because others choose to call it so. *Deduction from the dividends* is the proper phrase; and this deduction must be, in my opinion, freely applied, or we must have a most ignominious peace. It will answer no purpose to put off the evil day. If we are to have peace, with our present financial system, it may as well come to-day as two years hence. Now, indeed, is the *best time* of the two; for, does any one imagine, that France will be more disposed to grant us good terms of peace, when she comes to see *the statement of the Affairs of the East India Company*? Lord Grenville has, indeed, assured us, that this under Empire is in a most flourishing state; but, how comes it, then, that Lord Castlereagh, the late president of the Board of Controul, should propose, as he lately has done, to raise money for the relief of the Company, and for the *public to guarantee the loan*? In fact, do we not *know* what this will come to? And is it not necessary to caution the public against expectations, which, if entertained, *must* be disappointed.—The sum of what I have to say, upon this subject, is this, and, until LORD LAUDERDALE's return, it will be useless to say more. That, with a reform in our financial system, we are able to carry on the war, until we can obtain a peace of honour and security; but, without such a reform, no ministers will be able to obtain a safe or honourable peace; that those who wish to see such a reform, and are ready to support, with all their means, the men who will undertake it, will have a right to censure whatever minister shall make a disgraceful peace; that those, who cling to the pension and sinecure lists, who abet all sorts of speculators, and who clamour against every measure for lessening the interest upon the national debt, would have no right to complain, if, in order to obtain peace, the minis-

ters were to cede the Isle of Wight, together with all the Barns and Hovels and Mud-Huts and Barrack-Masters and Contractors and Peculators of every description, thereon standing and being; that no peace, whatever may be the terms, made while our present financial system remains, will last above a year or eighteen months; and that, while that system lasts, we never shall enjoy one hour of *real* peace again.

The "DELICATE INVESTIGATION" seems now to have been merely a *nine days wonder*; but, unless the *MORNING POST* comes forward with some report, or some satisfactory statement, upon the subject in a very few days, I shall convince my readers, that *this paper*, at any rate, is not to be silenced. "MUM," is now become the word; but, any one man has the power, if he has the will, to prevent the matter from being so *hushed up*.—The *WHIG*, and the *ANGRY FUND-HOLDER*, whose letters will be found in subsequent pages of this sheet, shall be answered in my next. In the mean while, let the *Whig* reflect, whether, at any time, previous to the Revolution, there were so many *foreign troops*, brought into England, as there are now *stationed* in England. This is one point. But I shall, I trust, be able to make him weary of defending the cause of Whiggism. He has undertaken a most terrible *corvée*, as he will very soon find.

BARRACK-ABUSES.

The Letter of which the following is a copy, accompanied the Affidavits, transmitted to the Secretary at War, by Mr. ATKINS, which affidavits will be found in the foregoing Number, at page 206.—The Letter, like the affidavits, was laid before parliament, and afterwards printed, upon the motion of Mr. ROBSON.

Copy of a Letter from Barrack Master Atkins, late of Sandown Barracks, to the Secretary at War; dated 29th June, 1806.

—Dated, No. 2, Margaret-street, Cavendish Square, June 29, 1806.

SIR,—Having obtained the printed papers called for by the House of Commons, I hasten to vindicate myself from the charges laid against me, and, by one connected chain of circumstances, to prove the malignity of Major Davis. It was always the liberal practice of the Barrack-Master-General, to forward to the person against whom an accusation was made, the charges themselves, in order to enable him to make his defence, and I believe that my case is the only one in which this practice has been departed from. I shrink not from candour; from two farmers I have borrowed money, 10l. from

Mr. White, and 20l. from Mr. Smith, who issued a warrant against me on my note, when Major Davis came to the Island; if this declaration, and these acts, be sufficient to break me, I shall be patient under my dismissal, as I wish not to hold my place at the expense of honour and truth. I owed my appointment to Sandown to the right hon. the then Secretary at War, Mr. Bragge, who, on my own application, granted me the appointment in a manner which did the highest honour to his liberality, observing, that he felt himself happy to be at liberty to appoint me to the situation, from the favourable testimonies he had received of my conduct from the officers under whom I had served. To the right hon. Mr. Windham, his predecessor in office, I owed my former appointment of Assistant Barrack-Master of Out-Posts, who with equal liberality and feeling, in the midst of his important duties, listened attentively like Mr. Bragge, to the application of a private individual, and granted his request. To these two gentlemen, rendered as respectable by their private worth as by the situations they have filled, to the public at large, and to my own family and friends, I feel that I owe the justification of my character; and, under this conviction, Sir, I humbly beg that this letter, with the enclosed affidavits, may be favoured with the same publicity as has attended the charge laid against me, in order that those who have heard the accusation may likewise hear my defence, and, with unbiassed judgment, draw their inference. You will permit me, Sir, here to comment on the conduct of Major Davis, as testified in the enclosed affidavits. It will be seen that the report made by him to the Barrack-Master-General of my frequent habits of drinking, and consequent inattention to the troops, was contradicted by the certificates of the commanding officers of the troops, who had occupied the barracks and posts for some months. This charge was wholly unprovoked by me, farther than by a discontinuance of every other attention to him from the period of his conversation at my table, except that obedience and deference due to a superior in office on all official communication; yet even then, unjustly as I had been accused, I held the sacred rights of hospitality too much in respect to violate them by a disclosure of his conversation, and at this moment, I should shrink from the thought of injuring him, were not the promulgation of his conduct necessary to my own justification. What an enemy then was Major Davis likely to become, when I stated to the right hon. the Secretary at War, the barns

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taken at enormous rents. Major Davis was the person who had taken those barns; Major Davis was the person sent down to act on the proposal of Mr. Day; was it the interest of Major Davis to make that proposal appear advantageous to government, after the agreements which he himself had made? I forbore to implicate him; in my letter appears no individual resentment, but a proposal for the public good; I might then, if actuated by rancour, have stated, that a mud hut, built by the owner for *eighteen pounds*, as I understand from a man employed in the erection, was rented annually at *one hundred and thirty pounds*, and the interior fitted up at the expense of government, and taken and agreed for by Major Davis. There was also transmitted by me to the Barrack-Master-General, and by the Barrack-Master-General transmitted to Major Davis, a plan and proposal of a house at Brading, to the construction of twelve officers, at sixty pounds per annum. On referring to the rents paid for officers lodgings and accommodations in 1804-5, it will be found, that seven pounds fifteen shillings was paid weekly for accommodations for ten officers; the house therefore offered by Mr. Kemp, in the above proposal to which I allude, and which he agreed to have ready in three months at 11. 3s. 1d. per week, at the rate of 60l. yearly, makes a saving of 6l. 11s. 11d. per week, and two officers more accommodated.—Against the Affidavit of Ward, I enclose my own, together with those of my sisters. As to my catering for a Major, by supplicating Ward for a lamb, it is too low and egregiously contemptible for me to stoop to answer. I have received presents from him of poultry, and two pigs, and in return for those, and other civilities sworn to in my affidavit as having been received from him, made him a present of a horse, which I have no doubt he has still in his possession; and from other farmers I have also received presents of the same nature, and know that other Barrack-Masters have done the same. The tampering of one of my own department with Farmer Ward, is proved by my sister's affidavit and my own; early in November last, my sister and I accused Mr. Page of it to his face, telling him of Farmer Ward's declaration, which he no otherwise denied, than merely by saying, we were too hasty. To the receipts and accounts laying in the Barrack Office, I refer whether there ever appeared on the books of Sandown, any account of carting done either by Farmer Kent or Harvey, who, Ward says in his oath, I told him had given me their carting money.

Farmer Ward farther adds, justly too, that I paid him his rent first, and his bill for carting after. The reason of this will be found in the inclosed official letter dated the first of January, from the Barrack Office; this was the delay which my adversaries had hoped was a strong presumption of my guilt, as it obliged me to separate the payments of the rent and cartage. I appeal to every unbiassed mind, whether a person intent on illegally demanding money from a man against his fixed determination not to part with it, would have chosen the very house of that man in which to make the demand; particularly, when he had the power of summoning him to his own. On the 3d of Jan. Farmer Ward, says, I forced him to give this money. Now, my letter to the Secretary at War was dated the 29th of December, only six days previous to this, and it will be seen that in the inclosure accompanying that letter, the barn at Bigbury, belonging to Ward, was one of those I pointed out to be given up, in consequence of Mr. Day's proposal; could I therefore consider myself safe in forcing money from a man, who must shortly have come to the knowledge of my being the instrument of his losing 218l. per annum, and be weak enough to suppose, that, smarting under this loss, he would not promulgate this act of extortion? Farmer Ward artfully urges, that I pleaded my distresses from imprisonment. I am not ashamed to avow my involvements, which were consequences arising from having a family to support for four years, on five shillings a day, my pay as Assistant Barrack-Master of Out-Posts. In my letter to the Secretary I intimated, that I could point out other matters for consideration. I alluded to savings that could not fall within the calculation of a superior in office, but of one acting within the immediate sphere of Barrack-Master. The practicability of it I can prove to a demonstration, and it would be productive of some thousands a year, without taking from the comforts of any individual. There are two other matters which I could likewise suggest, the advantages of which I am persuaded would be acknowledged by office when pointed out. There are two Barrack-Masters now in the department against whom I could bring the most serious charges; yet, notwithstanding their enmity, which was partly combined with my dismissal, I feel reluctant to do so, feeling too acutely, as the head of a family, for the poverty into which my children are now plunged, even to wish to return it on the offspring of my enemies.—With every respect I submit the whole of my case to

your consideration, and have the honour,
 &c.—(Signed) BECHER WESTROPP
 ATKINS, late Barrack-Master, Sandown,
 Isle of Wight.

WHIGS, AND THE FUNDS.

SIR,—The high estimation in which I have hitherto held your Political Journal, and the benefits that I have hoped the country would derive from the exertion of your talents, have so prepossessed me in your favour, that I have been led to expect more from you, than perhaps ought to be looked for, from any individual whatever, however great his abilities, or firm his principles. Under these expectations I must confess, that your reasoning in the Summary of Politics in your last Number, has caused in my mind very different sensations, from what I have heretofore experienced, and I cannot refrain from expressing the regret that I feel at the severe and unjust censure, that you have so unnecessarily cast on that truly respectable body of patriots, *the Whigs of England*. From having discovered nothing in your writings, but those constitutional doctrines so fondly cherished by the Whigs, it has not a little astonished me, that you now plainly and unequivocally state, “that you dislike the Whig principle, having observed that all, nay all, those measures, which have proved greatly and permanently injurious and disgraceful to England, originated with the pretenders to exclusive patriotism, who called themselves Whigs.” Now, Sir, if you mean to say, that the greatest evils have befallen this country from the councils of men, who, to curry favour with the people, have falsely professed Whig principles, and basely betrayed the true interests of their country, I do most readily agree with you in sentiment; but if you contend that the actions of those men were approved by the real Patriot Whigs of England, I must beg leave entirely to differ from you, and to state as a fact recorded in the impartial page of history, that to the strenuous exertions of the Whigs, are we at this moment indebted for all the blessings we enjoy, and which have been derived to us from the glorious revolution of 1688, an event which has, I trust, secured the liberties of Englishmen on a basis, too firm, ever to be shaken by those *Tory Statesmen*, who have the constitution constantly in their mouths, that they may thereby gull the people, and smooth the way to the introduction of those arbitrary measures, which, had they been suffered to act upon from time to time, would long ere this have reduced us from our proud pre-eminence as Britons, to the same

degraded state as all the other nations of Europe. Are these, Sir, the principles which your great mind should be directed to combat? Principles revered and cherished by every lover of our constitution, as established by that great and glorious revolution, which has placed upon the throne of these realms our present illustrious and beloved Monarch, as the guardian of the people's rights and liberties; surely it cannot be? I have often, Sir, been highly gratified by the firm and manly manner, in which you have at all times supported the cause of virtue, and in the clear and nervous style, peculiar to yourself, by which you have exposed corruption and profligacy; equally mortified am I now to find that you *cannot refrain* from expressing your satisfaction at the triumph as you term it, of such a man as Lord Melville, whom you say you believe from the bottom of your heart to be a better and an honest man than any *one* of the Whigs. The conduct of our ministers in some few instances does, certainly, meet my disapprobation, but my surprise is great indeed, after reading your Analysis of Lord Melville's Trial in your Journal of the 28th of June last, that you should now express yourself so well satisfied with *such a triumph*; and that you should compare even the very *worst* of them to *such a man*. I know of no part of the conduct of the present ministers more seriously objectionable than the severe regulations in the new Income Act; its oppressive tendency towards persons of small incomes is so shockingly severe, that its provisions I am fully satisfied must be altered, before the year expires, or the utmost wretchedness must ensue throughout the country; I am therefore, not at all surprised at the clamour that has been raised at the Bank, nor am I sorry for it, as from its vicinity to the government, I hope it will have its due effect. I cannot, however, help differing with you in opinion, when, in speaking of the prorogation speech, you say, there is a glaring inconsistency in those, who reprobate your proposition for annihilating the debt, while they highly approve the deductions from the dividends, which you contend; is, in fact, an *annihilation of one-tenth* part of it; and you seem to think that there is a great difference between the tax being raised from other incomes, and deducted from that of the funds, and that the *right* to deduct *one-tenth* necessarily implies a right to cut off the whole. Surely, Sir, it is a strange doctrine, that because the income of the fundholder, is taxed in common with every other income, that the whole of the funds may be annihilated, merely because

the tax is *deducted*, instead of the *dividend being first paid*, and the tax afterwards raised by a collection. Perhaps you are not aware that the proprietor of land let to a tenant is exactly in a similar situation with the fundholder, inasmuch as "that into the hands of the *land-owner* the tax never comes at all," but is *deducted* by the tenant on the payment of it. I do not however think that, on this account there is one proprietor of land in England, who believes, that the right to deduct one-tenth of the *income* necessarily implies a right to cut off (or in this case to take) the whole; and, I trust the fundholders will be equally satisfied of their security.—From your usual liberality and candour in introducing the opinions of others into your Journal, though not consonant to your own, I am induced to beg the favour of you to honour this with a place in it, should you not receive a similar communication from a much more able correspondent; in which case, I have only to apologise for the trouble the reading this will occasion you, and to assure you, though not a member of the Whig Club, that I am with much respect, Sir, your most obedient servant,—A WHIG.—August 7, 1806.

ANGRY FUND-HOLDER.

SIR,—However inadequate I may feel myself to contend with you on almost all points, I cannot resist the impulse, to state my objection to the opinion you entertain with respect to what ought to be the fate of the Public Debt. It is astonishing to me, that a man whose arguments on almost all occasions, appear to be given with a precision nearly equal to mathematical demonstration, should have wandered into such a labyrinth of error as you have done on this subject: there is nothing in my mind, that I can assimilate it to, but that of a man, who has from his infancy, till he has arrived at an age sufficient to stamp him as an unerring character, all at once burst out, and gone upon the highway, and robbed and murdered the first man he has met with; and left to his former admiring friends, the only consolation of saying, "alas poor human nature, how frail art thou!"—The sophistry, and absurdity (not to say inconsistency, for you have on this subject been uniformly absurd) that you have thought necessary to have recourse to, in this untenable argument, is a master-piece of its kind. A man who stands so high in the estimation of the thinking part of mankind, and to see him descend as you have done, on this subject, to the meanest artifices, must be matter of great regret, to all those who hold nothing on earth in com-

parison with truth and justice. In your Register of this day, you say, you wish to see the National Debt annihilated; and, from what you have said before on this subject, it appears you wish the present proprietors of this fund to receive no compensation.—It is not my intention to go into any argument at present, to refute the sophistry you have made use of on this occasion: but, at the same time I cannot resist stating to you one circumstance, in which, I think, you will coincide with me, or acknowledge that all your former professions of regret for the honest and industrious part of the community, have been nothing but the mask of hypocrisy. You do not appear to think you shall be able to persuade the government of the country, to adopt the diabolical plan of wiping off this debt at one blow, but are in hopes by the repeated clamours you are raising against the stability and security of this fund, to induce the present holders to take any thing they can get; and which will bring such an influx of sellers into the market, that in a very short time will reduce the value of stock to five per cent., or even nothing, at which time, I suppose, you will recommend to the government, to purchase upon these easy terms and liquidate the debt. But, who do you think, in such a case, would be the sufferer, and who would most iniquitously benefit by such a measure? The sufferers will be those whom you have always professed so much regard for, the honest and industrious part of the community, and those that are benefited will be those that you have always professed to despise. Those harpies who are always flying about in all the regions of the Bank and Stock Exchange, and who are ready at all times to embrace every misfortune that befalls their country; these are the beings who will be enriched at the expense of hundreds of thousands, independent of the miseries that such a measure will entail upon their helpless and unoffending offspring.—While you speak of the inconsistency of others, you seem to forget your own absurdity; for you say the present deduction from the dividends, "is in fact," an annihilation of one-tenth part of them. Now, what are we to understand by the word "annihilation?" As it is meant to be understood by you, it has an import never, I believe, given to it before. If the legislature had said, the proprietors of these funds should not in future ever receive but eighteen shillings in the pound upon their dividends, you might, then, with propriety have said that one-tenth of this property had been annihilated. But you, perhaps, who can see

farther into a mill-stone than most men, may have seen that the government mean to repeal the law as far as regards all other property, and leave this mill-stone hanging in perpetuity on the neck of this unfortunate property. In the present argument, we are, I presume, to look only on the face of the statute, and that declares it to be a tax, and only a tax upon this as all other property; and from this we have a right to conclude, that, when the bill ceases to operate on one, it most undoubtedly will on the other. With respect to its being a raised or deducted tax, that is a circumstance quite immaterial to an honest man; for, I presume you will not deny, but every man ought to pay 10 per cent. upon all his income, let it be derived from what source it will; and, though I lament, that *you*, or any other man that meant to be a *rogue*, and whose property is not in the funds, has that facility of evading the tax, that by the present bill is denied to those whose property is in the public funds; but, I am nevertheless, bound to suppose that every man pays his 10 per cent. as well as I who am a stock-holder, and therefore, as such I have no right to complain.—You “insist that a right to deduct one-tenth necessarily implies a right to cut off the whole.” Who, upon reading this, would not suppose, that the legislature in imposing this tax, had made a distinction between property in the funds, and all other property in the nation. However, the government may have a much greater facility in collecting this tax from the fund-holders, than it has from persons deriving their income from other sources, it makes no such distinction as you wish to infer; neither has the legislature recognised any such principle, but is considered by the legislature as standing upon the same basis as all other property, and will ever, I trust, remain while reason and justice can maintain a seat in the hearts of Britons. And, though I, as much as any man, regret that the national debt has been carried to the extent it has, and think it one of those things that engenders many evils, it is a thing that has been established by the government of the country, and virtually recognized by the people themselves; and as such it must be submitted to, till better times relieve them from its pernicious effects. If, indeed, you could point out any plan by which the property that has been illegally and fraudulently obtained, could be made to be restored to its owners, the insulted and oppressed people of this country, you would then be doing good, agreeably to your own professions; but the adoption of the plan

you recommend with respect to this measure, would be only adding to the oppression of a part of the community, already too much burdened, with the evils arising from the crimes and iniquities of others.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.—A STOCKHOLDER.—
August 2, 1806.

COURT OF CHANCERY.

SIR,—I was a good deal struck by reading in the papers a few days ago, what purported to be an account of proceedings in the House of Commons. According to this representation, while the Marquis of Wellesley's friends were urging Mr. Paull to bring on the discussion of the Oude charge before the close of this session, his honour the Master of the Rolls warmly spoke in support of these gentry; emphatically pronouncing that *delay was contrary to the fundamental principles of British jurisprudence*. This one was very glad to hear, and certainly it proceeded with peculiar propriety and grace from a magistrate, presiding in a court, the expedition of which has long been proverbial. And if any thing could heighten its effect, it was to read in the very same paper, that on the very same day, the very same magistrate did, in the very same place, in support of a bill for augmenting the emoluments of the officers of his court, state, that so dilatory were its proceedings, as to have impounded and accumulated within its clutches not less than *twenty-one millions of money*, the property of its suitors. One can scarcely imagine, that the suits, by which half of this enormous fund came into the hands of the Court of Chancery, can be decided within the life time of the original parties. And if so, then there are always owners of above ten millions of pounds, deluded either to seek for their own which is wrongfully withheld from them, or to protect their own which is wrongfully sought to be taken from them, by the notion that they can have justice in the Court of Chancery, whereas, the fact is so far otherwise, that it would be much better for them as individuals, if the whole of the property in question, were, before they entered the inauspicious door of this Temple of Astrea, annihilated; if it were flung into the sea, or appropriated to pay the debts of the dead, or the pensions of the living traitors to their country. For in either of these cases they would merely lose that property, and they would at once know that it was lost: but, as matters now stand, not only they lose the whole of that same property, but they are also plundered of all the sums required for the fees of counsel,

attornies, agents, the stamp duties, and officers and judges of the court, and they lead a life of incessant expense, disquietude, irritation, and disappointment, which it is not too much to say, frequently drives them in beggary to a premature grave. In what I have said, I mean not to advance the smallest charge against the judges of the court. I have a very high respect, and a very full conviction of the abilities and the knowledge, the judicial integrity and diligence of Lord Erskine, Lord Eldon, and Sir William Grant. But that these magistrates have done the duty of judges in the Court of Chancery, as well as it can be done, only shews that the evil lies deeper than the character of the judge. And as Hector inferred that Troy could not be saved, from his own inability to defend it, so these learned persons may safely conclude, that the Court of Chancery cannot under its present constitution be other than a nuisance, from the mere fact that their administration of its authority has not prevented the keeping from the pockets of the suitors *one and twenty millions of their property*. On this head, the dilatoriness of the Court of Chancery, I shall not enlarge farther, than to express my hopes that one or all of the three whom I have named, will endeavour to devise some plan for rescuing the property of individuals from such detention under pretence of justice.—But, if delay be, as Sir William Grant tells us, *repugnant to the fundamental principles of British jurisprudence*, I presume that juridical secrecy is not less so. Now to apply this to the Court of Chancery. The whole of the one and twenty millions on which that court has laid its hand, is placed in the public funds, behind the impenetrable skreen of the accountant general's name: so that no one can discover what are the names of the parties to any of the suits out of which this treasure has arisen. Without doubt many of the descendants of those unhappy persons whom the Circean charm of a *court of equity* decoyed into that voracious abyss the Court of Chancery, are ignorant of the rights or claims upon these accumulations which they may derive from their ancestors. Publicity is of the very essence of British jurisprudence, and most undoubtedly some means should be afforded to the country at large, to know not only the names of the parties out of whose suits these funds have arisen, but the amount from time to time accrued upon each. I observe that this matter was mentioned the other day in the House of Commons by a very able, active, and upright member of parliament (Mr. Tyrwhitt

Jones). It will, doubtless, be most satisfactory to the country, that the establishment of this system of publicity should originate from magistrates conversant with all the details of the proceedings in this court, and this would be more honourable to themselves. But if they neglect to bring it forward (and that not under the precarious mode of an order from the Chancellor or Master of the Rolls of the day, but under a permanent legislative enactment), I trust the gentleman to whom I have alluded, will himself introduce some parliamentary motion upon the subject. I observe, that in mentioning this matter, he noticed the case of the unclaimed dividends at the Bank of England. You cannot but remember, Mr. Cobbett, how loudly when these were called for sixteen years ago, the whole herd of mornied swine grunted at the very thought that the intrusive hand of justice should approach a bristle sticking to their greasy hides, though evidently not belonging to themselves. But, I cannot think we need fear that the Supreme Court of Equity in Great Britain, will take example from the mercenary crew of Balaams in Threadneedle Street.—Sir William Grant's bill I have not seen, and, therefore, will not discuss its merits. But, if the Masters in Chancery are by it to have their salaries augmented from the money of the suitors locked up in the Bank, I should decidedly disapprove of it. I hope and believe all things good of the Masters in Chancery. But the slightest shadow of semblance of temptation to misconduct should be removed from all persons connected with the administration of justice. Now, if the Masters in Chancery are to depend for any part of their emoluments on the detention of money from the pockets of the suitors, they evidently will have an interest in retarding, instead of accelerating, as their duty requires, the proceedings of the court. And, if it should be said that this interest is extremely remote, seeing that from the vicious constitution of our Chancery, the utmost diligence which the Masters could use would not diminish the fund so far, as to endanger their receipts, still they will have an interest in continuing the general dilatoriness of the tribunal, and they will, moreover, be liable to a suspicion of acting upon interested motives, which must lower them (and through them the administration of justice in the kingdom) in the estimation of the people. I need not say that much of what I have thus laid before you, is applicable *mutatis mutandis*, to the equity side of the Court of Exchequer.—X. X.

MERCHANT SEAMEN.

SIR,—As every subject respecting the improvement of the state of our Merchant seamen, should be regarded by our political governors; if you deem the following Observations, on the necessity of determining the Sea-worthiness of every Merchant-vessel, before she is permitted to proceed to sea, worthy a place in your publication; the attention of many thousands, amongst whom your work is circulated, may be drawn to a subject of the highest national importance.—As the progress of all improvement is often guided and determined by the variety of human intellect; it will necessarily follow, that many prejudices in the minds of men must be overcome, ere the general adoption of any plan; however self-evidently useful, can be effected: of these prejudices, there are none more powerful than those which are swayed by interest.—Since the Shipping Interests have, in a great degree, changed hands from the Merchant Owners, and now are divided through a variety of shares amongst men, whose occupations are connected with the means of the equipment of ships: each having his own individual profit to make out of the articles he deals in; and to share the produce of the seaman's life of toil and danger: their safety and comforts are liable to be neglected, in a manner highly prejudicial to the general interests of the country.—To evince this, I shall relate an instance which came to my own knowledge, in my attendance in one of our courts of justice; which I have been in the habit of frequenting, in order to learn our system of maritime jurisprudence, as exhibited in our civil courts; and it has greatly excited my surprise that causes in sea affairs should be determined by juries of landmen, when the Court of Admiralty, where the brethren of the Trinity House may be summoned, is a more competent court in the opinion of many well versed in the jurisprudence of the country.—A cause was trying before Lord Ellenborough in Guildhall in 1805, which related to the sea-worthiness of a ship called the *Flora*, and which meeting with a gale of wind, in her passage from Honduras with a cargo of mahogany, was obliged to put into Charlestown; where she was found so rotten and defective, as to sell for only 150 dollars, and was sunk in a marsh for a dock. In the course of the trial it was proved that her timbers were so bad, that in the opinion of the ship-builders who were examined, it was surprising how she lived in a sea: and that this could not have arisen from any violence of the storm, but from having been

sent to sea in a condition not seaworthy; and, thus the insurance, I believe, was lost. Had the gale continued, the ship in all probability would have foundered, and the crew never more been heard of. Who would have avenged the sacrifice of so many valuable lives, at the shrine of avaricious commercial speculations? I was sorry to observe in the course of the trial, that when both the plaintiff's and defendant's counsel admitted, that the master of the ship was in court; that although "they" refused to examine him, the judge or foreman of the jury had not insisted on his being called on in evidence, as I had reason to imagine many important facts would have been elucidated. Are seamen's lives like the public money of so little value? The suggestion immediately occurred to my mind of the necessity there is of having an establishment, at every principal seaport in the empire, of naval officers; to judge and determine on the sea-worthiness, stores, sails, rigging, and provisions of every ship and vessel leaving port; so that no ship's company might again suffer, as many have done, unheard of misery from such causes. How many ships have foundered at sea, and crews of hardy seamen been buried in the deep from similar causes! —The East India Company deem it necessary to have surveyors to judge of the state of their ships, ere they are sent to sea; nor are they suffered to perform more than a certain number of voyages; surely, every department of merchant shipping ought to be under similar regulations. If the list of ships wrecked, and totally lost, with their crews, during the last ten years were examined, and inquiry made into the causes, I apprehend very many instances would be adduced of avarice and depravity; which would shew how great the necessity is, of curbing them by the establishment I now recommend to the attention of the legislature. I shall recite another circumstance to enforce this argument.—In a convoy, which left the West Indies some time past, was a ship which for the sake of the owner's feelings I forbear to name, which had buried her commander and lost several of her crew by the fatal yellow fever; she was so badly found in provisions, that in the course of the passage home, the crew were reduced to very great distress: some of the humane and worthy commanders in the trade, who knew her wants, kindly proffered the chief mate who had become commander a supply of provisions. He refused the kind offer, *probably* under the idea of ingratiating himself with his owners, and securing the command next voyage, by saving "such an unneces-

sary" expense.—These are solitary instances of depravity, which for the honour of my country, I wish it was not in my power to produce more of: but, I am sorry my experience has brought to my knowledge many worse traits of that shocking principle, which has driven many of our best seamen to seek employment in the American service; in the hope of finding more liberal treatment. It is the want of attention to this subject, and not the seaman's inclination, which causes him to expatriate himself. The late representatives of the American Congress, on a subject which has involved our government in a serious discussion, and which may ultimately lead to a suspension of those amicable relations, which have existed between us, grow out of circumstances such as these. It is just, that we should reclaim our seamen from the service of foreign powers, wherever we may find them; but we should candidly examine, whether it has not been our own fault, which has driven them from us.—I remain, Sir, your humble servant,——PHILO NAUTÆ.—July 30, 1806.

CAVALRY OFFICERS.

MR. COBBETT,——I have the honor, or rather the misfortune to be a field officer of cavalry, at which rank, I have arrived after 20 years service, (3 of which have been on foreign stations,) and an expense of 4000l. in the purchase of my commissions; being the whole of my patrimony as a younger brother. I say, the misfortune, because, in all probability, had my father possessed the foresight to check my inclination for the army, and put me apprentice to a tinker or a taylor, I might with the help of 4000l. as a capital, have been now in the receipt of a pretty income, and have worn my own clothes, instead of starving, in splendid misery, at the expense of my taylor.—It is scarcely necessary for me to observe, that on commencing my military career, half-a-guinea a week paid all the expenses of an abundant mess, and we drank our port wine for 2 shillings a bottle. There was then no income tax, no powder tax, nor half the taxes on consumption that there are now; and farthings had not ceased to be a part of the circulating medium. This was indeed the golden age, when guineas were more plentiful than paper, and a cavalry officer could purchase his appointments for 50 guineas.—Alas! tempora mutantur, et nos mutantur, Mr. Windham, Colonel Crauford, General Fitzpatrick and all of us. Wine is now 5 shillings a bottle, and an officer's mess, exclusive of that luxury, at-

tainable only by a few, (except on the birth days of the Royal family), now costs him 1l. 4s. 6d. per week. There is now an impost of 10 per cent. on the price of our *day labour*, a powder tax, armorial bearings, (*the pride of a soldier*), are taxed, and farthings are no longer known, but as we have the tradition of their having *once* been valuable. Paper now circulates where guineas did before, and a cavalry officer's appointments are not to be purchased for one hundred pieces of paper, of one pound each. As a set off, though, it must be allowed, that horses are to be had for a mere nothing.—Now, will future ages believe, Mr. Cobbett, that it was reserved for a period like this, and for a person of Mr. Windham's character, to add insult to injury, and mock the distress he pledged himself to relieve? To assert in the face of parliament, and of the same parliament, which had heard his faith pledged to the army, to consider their case, and give it relief; pledged generally, and without invidious exceptions; to assert that the officers of the cavalry were *not starving*, and therefore were unworthy of consideration.—Will it be believed, that when every clerk, in every office, had received an encrease of salary in consequence of the depreciation of money; that when an addition of *one-half* was made to the younger branches of the Royal family, and that for the same reason, though they paid *no taxes*; will it be believed that 10 per cent. was deducted from the pay of officers of the army, from the price of their blood, which has been the same, since the time of Queen Anne, and that at the same time they were told, "*ye are not starving*."—And are these the measures that are to give additional consideration, and respectability to the officer? Is it by contrasting the soldier in plenty, with the officer in penury, that he is to be raised in their estimation, or they tempted to perform actions by which they may become officers?—It may be perhaps said, that I am at liberty to retire: yes, to retire in the middle of a war, with 4000l., depreciated *one-half*, and after 20 years service; to retire, from a profession which habit has rendered necessary to existence, independently of that *amor patriæ* which glows in every Briton's breast; retire, not with the *otium cum dignitate*, but on a pittance sufficient to hold me out, as a beacon to warn unwary parents, how they expend a younger son's fortune, in purchasing commissions in the army.—No: had not Mr. Windham's cruel observation, provoked me to break silence; I should have submitted without a

murmur to my fate, as I hitherto have done : trusting that the day might arrive, when a British house of commons, combining liberality and justice, with a proper anxiety for the public purse, would make such an increase to the pay of all descriptions of officers in his Majesty's service, as would enable them to support that situation in society, which is the surest guarantee of their preserving their honor unsullied, in which I believe, *that of the nation*, will be found, not a little implicated. C'est n'est que le premier pas qui conte ; and when once an officer believes himself despicable in the eyes of others, he is in great danger of becoming so to himself, and of *meriting that*, which he at first only imagined.—Yours, &c.—QUINTUS CURTIUS.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

CAPITULATION OF GAETA.—*Articles of Capitulation demanded by the Garrison of Gaeta, after a Siege of five months, and after two breaches were made.*

Article 1. The service of the Holy Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, shall be respected and preserved. Answer. Granted.—Art. 2. All the garrison shall be permitted to embark with their arms, baggage, provisions, and the whole train of field-pieces in the place.—Ans. In consideration of the brave defence made by the garrison, they are permitted to embark with their arms and provisions ; it being understood, that the troops which compose it shall not carry arms, nor serve against France and her allies, nor against those of his Majesty Joseph Napoleon, during one year and a day, either upon the continent, or in the islands. Eight pieces of field cannon are granted to the garrison ; the rest of the field artillery, that of the fortress, and all the magazines, as well the ammunition as victuals, and other military effects, shall be faithfully delivered up to the French army, without dilapidation. At the same time, provisions for ten days shall be granted to the garrison.—Art. 3. All the wounded who remain in the place, as well as the sick, shall enjoy all the rights of hospitality, and shall be treated every one according to his rank. Every thing necessary shall be furnished by the French army. Ans. Granted.—Art. 4. All persons employed under the crown, such as the civil governors, the auditor of the army, and all the members of the little tribunal, shall be respected in their persons, their properties, and their families. No individual who may wish to leave the place, and to change his country, shall be prevented, neither he nor his family. Individuals, in this case, for

their own security, will provide themselves with the necessary passports. Ans. Granted.—Art. 5. Twenty-four hours after the ratification of the present capitulation, the interval during which the Neapolitan troops will embark, the French troops may enter the place. During this interval, an officer of artillery of the fortress, conjointly with an officer of the French artillery, shall proceed to the surrender of the place, as far as relates to the artillery, the ammunition, and the other effects. Ans. On the 19th of July, at eight in the evening, all the troops composing the garrison of Gaeta must be embarked. Nevertheless, the same day, at precisely five in the morning, the principal gate of the city, and the postern of the bastion of Breccia in front of the fortification, shall be surrendered to the French troops. No French soldier shall be permitted to enter the town, or the citadel, except the officers and commissaries charged with receiving the artillery and magazines of the place.—At eight in the evening, the town, the whole front towards the sea coast, shall be occupied by the imperial and royal troops.—Made, agreed upon, and subscribed, on the part of the garrison, by M. Louis Bardet, Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers, and Gaetano Barone, Captain Commandant of the First Free Corps, provided with full powers by Colonel Francesco Hotz, Commandant, and, *ad interim*, governor of the place ; and on the part of his Excellency the Marshal of the Empire, Massena, commanding the besieging army before Gaeta, by the General of Brigade Franceschi, Commandant of the Legion of Honour, &c. provided with full powers by the Marshal. (Signed) LOUIS BARDET.—GAETANO BARONE. (Approved) MASSENA.—July 16, 1806.

Declaration in Council of his Majesty the King of Prussia, to the Assembled Deputies of the Hanoverian Provinces.

GENTLEMEN, — By your appointment, your Deputy, Count Von Hardenberg, has laid before me your representation of the 3d instant ; and I have observed from it, with satisfaction, that you have acknowledged with gratitude my regulations in regard to the Hanoverian States. The additional sentiments therein contained are to me a security, that you will henceforth be devoted to me and to my house with the same loyalty which you discovered for your former Sovereigns. I therefore have made no delay in more closely learning from your delegates those concerns that were entrusted to them by you, and now communicate to you the following answer to the declaration

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given in by them:—"1. With regard to the secularization of the Abbey of Marienrode, and the representation relative thereto, that not only the constitution of the states thereby suffered an alteration, but that one of the securities thereby appropriated to the payment of the public revenue, and the discharge of the public debt, would be withdrawn, should the revenues of the said Abbey be inseparably united with the possession of the domains, contrary to the legal agreement between the impropiators and the states, whereby the revenues accruing from secularized spiritual foundations should be distinctly and separately applied to charitable purposes: it should be observed, that this Abbey legally belongs to Hildesheim, and thus my particular regulation respecting the same can in no way prejudice the said constitution. Besides, I have expressly established in the act of secularization, that in the mean time no change shall take place in respect to the contribution chargeable upon this Abbey, towards the national revenue and the redemption of the public debt. For the rest, as it is far from being my intention to alter the destination of the effects of the Abbey to charitable purposes, I feel satisfaction in assuring you, that the special administration of such parts as have been separated from the domains, and the application thereof to such beneficent and laudable purposes, shall be scrupulously continued, and the utmost care shall be taken both to augment these revenues by good management, and to ameliorate the mode of applying them, by the removal of existing abuses.—2. The ad-interim prohibition of home made salt is to be considered solely as an inevitable regulation of police for securing an equal supply of that article of primary necessity, and cannot have the apprehended pernicious consequences, since the supply of salt will not thereby be diminished, but will only receive another direction.—3. The continuance of the hitherto existing constitution of the country in general, and—4. The continuance of the provincial constitutions, in particular, pre-suppose that a new and more intimate acquaintance with them may be more necessary than the commission of organization has been able to procure, in so short a period, and under such difficult circumstances. But they will incessantly continue their labours in this respect, and I will not hereafter introduce any arbitrary changes, but such only as may be necessary to unite as intimately as possible the Hanoverian territory with my monarchy, of which it now constitutes a part, and to govern it by such laws as have been found, by long experience,

the fundamental pillars of the power, the security and prosperity of the Prussian States; wherefrom the established constitution will be so little excluded, that it will much rather be built up and strengthened, as you may learn from the example of the neighbouring provinces, Brandenburg, Magdeburg, and Halberstadt.—5. The petition, with regard to any new modifications, upon which the states, together with other privileged orders, who may, perhaps, have particular knowledge of the subject, should be consulted, before that introduction, on account of any injurious consequences apprehended therefrom, is wholly conformable to the spirit of the maxims of the Prussian government, and will be pursued by the commission of organization in all doubtful cases whatsoever, and without particular instructions.—Finally, the military regulations, as soon as it can be done with safety, shall be so modified, that the grievances of the country, connected with the present extraordinary measures, shall wholly cease.—From this answer you will infer, and I give you with pleasure the strongest assurances on this head, that my whole endeavours are exclusively directed to heal the wounds, which the hitherto unhappy wars have produced, and to render your country completely happy. Neither ambition, nor the lust of territory, but solely a conviction founded on experience, that the incorporation of the Hanoverian states with the Prussian monarchy, is obviously necessary for the welfare and security of both, have determined me to this union, and to the sacrifices connected with it. The past has taught you that England cannot protect you, and that you can be protected by Prussia alone. Prussia has now taken upon herself this protection, from which you have to expect greater security of persons and of property, as well as the abolition of all oppressive abuses which the distance of your rulers produced. But you must also closely unite with a government which has wrought you all these blessings, and support, with counsel and action, a constitution which has been decided upon for your benefit. On the other hand, I will always approve myself your gracious Sovereign. (Signed) FREDERICK WILLIAM.—*Charlottenburg, June 24, 1806.*

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

Note delivered by M. Bacher, Chargé d'Affaires of France, to the Diet. Dated Ratisbon, August 1, 1806.

The undersigned, Chargé d'Affaires of his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, at the general diet of the Ger-

manic Empire, has received orders from his Majesty to make the following declarations:—Their Majesties the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the Sovereign Princes of Ratisbon, of Baden, of Hesse Darmstadt, of Nassau, and the other principal Princes of the South and West of Germany, have taken the resolution to form among themselves a confederation, which places them in safety from all the uncertainties of the future, and they have ceased to be states of the empire.—The situation in which the treaty of Presburg placed directly the courts allied to France, and indirectly the princes whom they surround, and who are their neighbours, being incompatible with the condition of a state of the empire, it became necessary for those courts, and for the princes, to arrange on a new plan the system of their relations, and to cause to disappear an inconsistency which would have been a permanent source of agitation, of inquietude, and of danger.—On her side, France, so essentially interested in maintaining the peace of the South of Germany, and who could not doubt, that the moment when she should have caused her troops to repass the Rhine, discord, an inevitable consequence of relations contradictory or uncertain, ill defined and ill understood, would have exposed to new danger the repose of nations, and again, perhaps, lighted up a war upon the Continent: bound, besides, to promote the welfare of her allies, and to enable them to enjoy all the advantages which the treaty of Presburg secured to them, and which she had guaranteed, France could only see, in the confederation which they have formed, a natural consequence and necessary completion of that treaty.—For a long time, successive changes, which have gone on augmenting from age to age, had reduced the Germanic constitution to be only a shadow of itself. Time had changed all the relations of grandeur and of strength which originally existed among the members of the confederation, and between each of them, and the whole of which they made a part. The diet had ceased to have a will that belonged to itself. The sentences of the supreme tribunals could not be put in execution. Every thing attested an enfeeblement so great, that the federation tie no longer presented any guarantee, and among the powerful was only a cause of dissension and discord. The events of the three coalitions carried this enfeeblement to its utmost length. One electorate has been suppressed by the union of Hanover with Prussia; a

northern power has incorporated with his other states one of the provinces of the empire; the treaty of Presburg has assigned to the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and the Elector of Baden, the plenitude of sovereignty; a prerogative which the other Electors would claim, and be entitled to claim, but which could accord neither with the spirit nor the letter of the constitution of the empire.—His Majesty the Emperor and King is therefore obliged to declare, that he acknowledges no longer the existence of the Germanic constitution; at the same time, nevertheless, recognizing the entire and absolute sovereignty of every one of the princes of whose states Germany at this day consists, and preserving with them the same relations as with the other independent powers of Europe.—His Majesty the Emperor and King has accepted the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. He has done so only from pacific views, and that his mediation, constantly interposed between the weak and the strong, may prevent every kind of dissention and disorder.—Having thus done enough for the dearest interests of his people and of his neighbours; having provided as much as lay in his power for the future tranquillity of Europe, and in particular for the tranquillity of Germany, which has been constantly the theatre of war; in putting a period to the contradiction which placed the nations and the princes under the apparent protection of a system really contrary to their political interests and their treaties, his Majesty the Emperor and King hopes that the nations of Europe will at length lend a deaf ear to the insinuations of those who wish to cherish eternal war upon the Continent; that the French armies which have passed the Rhine, shall have passed it for the last time; and that the people of Germany will see no longer, in the history of the past, any thing but the horrible picture of disorders of every kind, of devastations, and of massacres, which war always brings in its train.—His Majesty has declared, that he would never extend the boundaries of France beyond the Rhine: he has been faithful to his promise. At present his only desire is to be able to employ the means which Providence has entrusted to him, for the purpose of asserting the liberty of the seas, of restoring to commerce its liberty, and securing the repose and happiness of the world. (Signed) **BACHER.**—*Ratisbon, Aug. 1, 1806.*